/299 cont./

177 178 An analysis of Chiriguano culture (see Nordenskiöld, 10, pp. 196-213) makes manifest the heterogeneity which the history of the tribe caused to be suspected a priori. The pottery, basketry, weapons, and furniture almost constantly present disparate characteristics in which are expressed this play of influences, this intermixture of races and ideas of which the present-day culture of the Chiriguano is the product.

/300/ The ethnographer feels all the more at ease in his analysis when at every step history confirms or invalidates the findings to which his comparative work leads him. Thus he walks on firm ground, and the results he has acquired in this particular domain will justify his method when he uses it to solve problems whose data are less complete.

• 181 The Chiriguano, in more than one respect, deserve to hold a preponderant place in the ethnography of South America. They have played an important role in the history of Bolivia, Paraguay, and Argentina; their civilization has been brilliant and has maintained itself intact almost until our time; besides, they are remarkably endowed from the point of view of character and intelligence. To these qualifications they add that of having built up their civilization, so to say, before our very eyes and of offering to science a field where it moves with some sureness.

In order to understand the point of view I have tried to put forward in this introduction, it is indispensable to know, in its main lines, the early history of these Indians.

Chapter I

000 Historical Outline of the Formation of the Chiriguano Nation

/Eight lines of poetry in Spanish, from Barco Centenera, La Argentina, pp. 185-186, are omitted in the translation./

121 175 My intention is not to recount the history of the Chiriguano from the 16th century to today insofar as we can know it from official documents and chronicles. This work has been done and generally well done (Corrado; Kersten, pp. 66-69; Serrano y Sanz; Nordenskiöld, 7 and 8, pp. 45-58; Gandía, 2, pp. 25-56 and 1, 3, pp. 161-196; Outes, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.).

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Misque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

/329 cont./

clearly Arawak by its technique and many a detail of its structure. It dates from an epoch when the Chané, newly come to the foot of the Andes, had not yet undergone the Andean influence of the populations of the Bolivian south (Chicha, Atacama, etc.).

When they arrived among the Chané, the Guarani had a civilization nearly identical with that of their racial brothers, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, whose ethnography is so familiar to us, thanks to the old French and Portuguese chronicles. They differed little from their present-day cousins, the Kainguá /Caingua/ of Brazil and Paraguay, who are independent but impoverished Guarani.

Upon contact with the superior Chané civilization, the Guarani adopted it as it was, introducing, however, some cultural elements of Paraguayan origin. From this fusion of the two nations was /330/ formed a center of acculturation which we can designate as Chané-Chiriguano civilization.

It is through the medium of the Chané that so many aspects of Andean civilization still characterize Chiriguano culture. For how could we otherwise explain so strong an effect of Andean civilization on the Chiriguano at the time when that civilization was failing and disappearing, at least partially?

The Chané, on the other hand, established for centuries near the Chicha and other Indians of the south of mountainous Bolivia, have, thanks to their trade relations, submitted to the attractions of the Andean civilization which has infiltrated among them, as among the other tribes of the Chaco, in the form of toilet objects, jewels, artistic motifs, games, words, and vices. It is these multiple contributions which give the Chané culture this Andean appearance which strikes every ethnographer used to the peoples of Brazil. But, having come from the great forests of the Amazon basin, these "Quichuaized /Quechuaized/" Arawak have faithfully kept until today furniture and utensils which betray this origin and tie them directly to their faraway relatives of the Guianas. The Chané civilization was and still is a mixed civilization formed of elements from different sources and often of opposing nature.

/378 cont./

412 114 171 178 The specimen I am publishing here was still giving good service to its owner, who gave it to me with regret and only for a large sum of money. The presence of the cared ax among the modern Chiriguano invalidates the allegation of Nordenskiöld (14, p. 170), who places it among the cultural elements which have completely disappeared in South America. It survived thanks to the prodigious conservatism of the Indians. I am convinced that several of the objects whose disappearance is attested to by Nordenskiöld will perhaps be found in some tribe now living, when we have more abundant ethnographic material from South America than we now have at our disposal.

[181]

412 171 Another very interesting peculiarity of this ax is the bent shape of the handle, to which the blade is securely fastened with leather thongs. The distribution of the bent-handled ax has been traced by Linné (7, p. 202). Few tribes of South America have continued to use it up to our day. They are the Colorado of Ecuador, the Tukano /Tucano/, Tariana, and other tribes of the /Plates XXII and XXIII appear here/ /378/ Catary-Uaupés, the Tehuelche, and the modern Quichua /Quechua/. Among the Indians of the Catary-Uaupés the tool lost all practical value and finally became a simple dance accessory (Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. I, Fig. 225, p. 350). /Fig. 51 appears here./

The bent ax has been found archeologically in Peru (Chuquitanta: Marques Valley near Lima) and in Casabindo in La Puna de Jujuy (Argentine Republic). The specimens from Peru are designated as being hoes, which is possible. However, I shall call attention to the fact that the Chiriguano specimen from Caipipendi is exclusively a carpenter's instrument, which the Indians use for cutting the pieces of wood from which they make their furniture or weapons. /Fig. 52 appears here./

Figure 51 shows how modern axes of the simple neolithic ax type can be hafted exactly like their stone prototypes. The similarity of this ax to the stone ones used up to today by the Guayaki extends to the somewhat arched shape of the handle and to its slightly swollen upper end (La Hitte, Plate IV, 9).

4: Nino--23 M-3 (1890-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

[7]

151 [7] 15 [133] The banks of the Pilcomayo are difficult for the opening of canals because they are quite high, but it must also be admitted that the Indians do not concern themselves with progress, are not ambitious like the whites who have settled on its banks; the latter also, because of being few, poor, and of limited means, almost all prefer to get rich with little work and little outlay of money, for which reason they devote themselves to raising cattle and hogs, which thrive without much care or expense.

133 The Parapiti is the second river named; it contains less water than the first and in Pomabamba, where it begins, it is very insignificant, but ten leagues farther, or after it has crossed Curi Ridge, it already begins to be respectable, and in front of the town of San Juan del Piray it appears as a ferocious beast ready to do battle with a weaker adversary, like the Armado River, whose waters it stops or makes recede, just as a lackey halts in the presence and at the sight of his master.

This river runs from west to east with few digressions as far as Mariqui in Parapiti Canton, whence it goes north and from its beginning it crosses the central part of Chiriguano country. In San Juan del Piray the river is some 12 leagues from the Pilcomayo; both rivers could easily be joined to make them one, for which there was once a project, but it would cause much harm to agriculture, especially in Cordillera Province, and the Pilcomayo would have the slight advantage of an increase in flow which would perhaps make it navigable from Villamontes to the Esteros.

In San Juan del Piray the Parapiti River receives as tributaries the Armado and the Piray rivers, and beyond San Pablo de Huacareta the waters of the river of Sauces and several others join it. Thus the Parapiti is a river of some consideration, and its bed is very dangerous at nearly every crossing because of the absolute lack of stone, especially from the Missions of San Antonio and San Francisco to Isoso Canton.

/15 cont./

433 241 sweet potatoes; cotton grows everywhere, tomatoes and garlic mature the year round, and in the gardens lettuce, cabbage, cauliflower, and peppers create the beauty of a spot, without taking into account the gastronomic advantages. Even the peach trees would yield fine fruits, but they suffer much from the black butterflies, which damage them before they ripen.

000 Without work the land will produce only briars and brambles, and /16/ as long as there are only Chiriguano and [157] [181] [185] cattle ranches here, progress will be slight and the population sparse, because the Indian has no ambition, and life is relatively inexpensive; the whites prosper by taking good care of their livestock, and no greater fertility can be obtained from the land because the holdings of a few families are very extensive and do not facilitate the residence of numerous renters, who do not always give good results nor do all come or ask to rent for farming alone. All of them want to get rich easily and quickly, and the best way is to raise stock, the result of which is that great areas of briars and brambles exist.

Flora

13 In the course of this hasty description I have noted that in Chiriguano country atmospheric changes are very sudden, but it has been noted that the region is quite fertile when it is watered by the rains or by irrigation ditches, because small rivers are plentiful, particularly in the mountainous region, and an occasional river of some size bathes the adjacent territories with its abundant waters.

There are many hills, pampas, and valleys, and for this reason every kind of climate may be found in this territory. [137] There are in fact oppressive heat, intense cold, and a temperate climate, thus making it possible to find land for every product from the lowly gourd to the savory chirimoya, from the ubiquitous maize to wheat, rice, and barley, from the mulberry /mora/, which grows spontaneously, to the rich grape, whose bunches reach weights of three and four libras.

/78/

Statistics

161 The tribe is in complete decadence and in a few more
162 years will be entirely lost. At the beginning of the nine-
●[181] teenth century, that is, before the war of South American Independence, in the Tarija missions alone there were more than 23,000 souls, and nevertheless that number did not include any of the numerous towns existing between the two large Parapiti and Pilcomayo rivers or the Indians of Caipipendi, Choreti, Pipi, and others located south of Lagunillas. At that time, I can state that the Chiriguano numbered more than 200,000, inasmuch as, according to the statistics of Father Lozano, the adult men fit for war, without counting women and children, numbered from 25,000 to 35,000.

167 Although Father Lozano was referring to the beginning of the eighteenth century, the difference must have been slight, because at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not felt as there is today the emigration to the Argentine Republic, which began when the territory was opened to trade with the founding of towns of white Christians, which there are now in great number, up to the founding of large provinces with the names of Acero, Cordillera, and Gran Chaco, nor was there so much immorality as prevails today (1).

1. New laws have been made which make recruitment for Argentina impossible, and Dr. don Justo Padilla, the present national delegate from the Gran Chaco, at the present time does not allow the law to be merely written; he lets nobody through.

165 Epidemics, vagrancy, and emigration more than any-
161 thing, in addition to scarcity of provisions, are destroying this race, which is greatly needed and will be needed later for agriculture and cattle-raising in the provinces which have
000 been mentioned. Today there is already a need for farmers,

/113 cont./

165 [145] advanced age, and I have seen Indians with the head completely white, and others with a white the color of smoke or something smoked. In the performance of my ministry I have met and baptized many centenarians at the time of their death, and in the towns through which I have passed I have met several who fought in the Caraparí war and who witnessed the War of Independence.

273 276 [178] But today the Chiriguano has degenerated greatly; in somewhat distant times they did not know about either liquor or coca, and today both are general, and because of liquor and coca, the use of which they much abuse, they ruin their health and shorten their existence. Much youth disappears with the abuse of these substances, and as a general rule in the missions the best disappear, those who know some art or have some fortune; all that they earn, after buying their clothing (although not always), they invest in liquor and coca, and thus shorten their lives. I have seen towns where out of 40 or [165] [148] 50 young men of the same age there are scarcely two or three alive who will reach 50; it can thus be seen that the drunkenness produced by chicha is not so pernicious as that of liquor or alcohol, for which any tax imposed on them by the Supreme Government is never too much, and would that such a tax were higher, more general, and that it was not felt to be enough simply to write it out. In spite of this dissipated life, it is [142] [147] very rare that one encounters a bald Indian, which indicates great robustness (1).

1. I have known many large and small Chiriguano towns; I have only found three semibald persons.

Morality

● 181 At present the Chiriguano Indian differs slightly or not at all morally from the common mass of men. I mean that not all are good nor are all perverse; there are good ones and bad ones

● 181 /114/ the same as everywhere else, so that certain travelers who say Indians are very bad would be wrong, as would those who call them very good. A celebrated explorer said not long ago that he found more goodness in an Indian than in a white man and that it is enough to notice only with average attention the faces of the two to be sure of the relative morality of both; as a missionary I neither can nor should consign to these pages my judgment in this regard (1).

1. The same explorer approves of the resolute attitude of the Curuyuqui uprising, taking the point of view that they were fighting for their independence and for the recovery of their territory.

186 648 Before the conquest so gently carried out by the Catholic missionaries took place, it was extremely dangerous to enter their territory, even just in passing, and not too long ago it was difficult to pass through the Cuevo-Ibo countryside, where the Franciscan missionaries of Potosí founded their missions, as they had founded those of Tarija in other regions. There was reason for the danger to exist.

The Indian now knew the white man by his deeds; he called him and still does call him caray, that is, astute, greedy, oppressor, and owner of what belongs to other people; if then he looked with misgiving upon the caray and up to a certain point did not wish to have relations with him, it is because this extremely bad image had been formed, from which arose the idea of not wanting to have a bad neighbor in his territory, and he blocked his way in order that he might not come to like the fertility of the area. He was wise to the fact that after exploration comes reconnaissance, and from this rises the desire to possess, which sooner or later is put into execution, as has been the case (2).

[113]

2. Giannecchini. Expedición al Alto Paraguay, año 1883.

/115 cont./
obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, inconstancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome by want; then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family. But if near the carai /sic; see caray, p. 157/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the carai, they append the adjective pochi, bad, perverse, tyrannical, rascally, etc.

They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all; they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and cattle-stealing are relatively recent; they were not common formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge great secrecy so that the authorities will not make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

/192 cont./

Adornments

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/The first paragraph of this section, pp. 192-193, is omitted in the translation. The following illustration appears opposite p. 193, and the remainder of p. 193 follows./

• 181 The Chiriguano, although they occupy a very lowly place in this corner of the world, although they have little in the way of grandeur and show to display and take pride in, follow the common tendency of humanity, almost as the beast follows its instincts. Without any fear of error, if the Chiriguano were to possess great riches, he would probably invest them in his vices and in the adornment of his body.

302 [292] [574] When the Chiriguano wants to make a formal visit, he washes his body, dresses in his best clothing, and paints his face with achiote powder. The preparation of achiote seeds has been described in the preceding pages in the discussion of the flora /see p. 32/. Here I add that in order for the Urucú to be fixed on the Indian's skin it is necessary that he first soften his face, or the part that he wants to paint or embellish, with palma Christi oil.

751 302 It has already been seen that the region is hot and that atmospheric changes are very sudden; a period of extreme heat can be followed by severe cold, and in these changes the Chiriguano's skin becomes chapped. To avoid this nuisance, men and women paint their faces and their feet with the cosmetic. [527] [758] They also use it during public drinking sessions, at banquets, and during the preparation of chicha in order to ward off the high heat, as well as during convalescence and after having recovered from smallpox (1).

1. Achiote powder with palma Christi oil is cool in hot weather and warm in cold weather. The neophytes in the missions no longer use it, or, if they do, it is sparingly and as a remedy. [178]

[text continues on p. 267]

/202 cont./

799 793 871 the second Chiriguano man and the second Chiriguano woman; I have even made use of this to condemn the vice of polygamy in my monthly instructions to the infidels.

000 /The last paragraph on p. 202 and the first paragraph on p. 203 are omitted in the translation. The remainder of p. 203 follows./

621 59 603 It is very natural that the Chiriguano race should form a family. Each tribe, or people, is an association of families. They are made up of fathers and children, but many times they have at their head a grandfather and grandmother who are much respected but who never give any orders or manage things; instead they serve their children willingly as servants, the grandfather in bringing in firewood, planting, and weeding, and the grandmother in everything that a woman can do.

831 867 There does not seem to be any other race like the Chiriguano in Bolivia, which like none other gives free rein to the passions, especially lewd ones. A maiden who commits a bad act is the pride of her mother, who is content with saying that now her daughter is a woman and ready for it. If a young man does similar things and his father finds out about it, he will ponder the act of his son and say, Cuimbae co, he is a man. This expression is heard frequently (1).

[799] [861] 1. When the missionary attempts to reprehend or punish the sin of some Chiriguano boy, the father, the grandfather, or the cacique petitions for him, and the best words to lessen the punishment or to say that he deserves no punishment are: Cuimbae ma co, he is now a man.

• 181 Excessive corruption is the result, and, if the Toba race is distinguished by its inclination toward thievery, the Chiriguano are distinguished by their inclination toward lechery, as old and wise missionaries of the stature of Father Corrado and 000 Father Giannecchini can testify. Let the reader consider that the

/214 cont./

845 847 732 I judge that they take away the lives of these unfortunates, not to do them harm, but to do a highly philanthropic act for them, since they would have even greater suffering were they to be left blind, crippled, lame, one-handed, mute, and deaf for the rest of their lives (2).

[171] [734]

2. Similar philanthropic acts are still practiced among the Toba and other tribes; so that they will not suffer much and long, they also bury sick persons alive.

732 Today one sees an occasional deformed person, and these isolated cases are either due to parents not brave enough to kill /215/ their children or perhaps they can be attributed to illnesses contracted at an advanced age. As a conclusion to ●181 the present chapter, let it be noted that some have written things about which they know nothing, making the Chiriguano out to be ferocious wild animals without compassion, but a particular fact cannot be used to draw general conclusions. True explorers state, as I do, that in general the Chiriguano is humanitarian; he loves his relatives in life and in death, and they are astounded by the conduct of the whites, who upon the death of their relatives slaughter cattle, drink brandy, and play as if it were a fiesta (1).

000

1. The conduct of certain civilized persons should not be reproved by the world. Even in the most civilized nations there are benefit dances. They drink, dance, and do other things, while the poor or the sick suffer. The Catholic takes out his money and gives it away in secret, without ever bragging about it; this is the true way to help humanity.

/253 cont./

261 feed themselves with: algarroba pods, Hibope; chañar /a legume/,
262 Cumbaru; mistol /a fruit/, Yua; tusca, Hibopene; sour algarrobos, Hibope tayi; nopal fruits, Saini; or from the fig, Iva; the higuerilla /little fig/, Caicantina, the thistle /cardo/, Tapiacaru, and the ulala /a kind of cactus/, Ñancagüína (1).

[137]
[132]

1. The fruits mentioned and many others are plentiful in the whole area, but in the Ivu region they are more plentiful; the years have now greatly changed; it does not rain as regularly as in times past and the crops are somewhat certain only at the foot of the mountain ranges.

• 181 Indubitably the Chiriguano, although superior to other nomadic tribes that surround them or border them, are very unfortunate and poor, but, on the other hand, their life is peaceful, they bother no one, and they do not wish to be bothered. When the Chiriguano Indian has food, he is the happiest being on earth; his savage bliss can today be envied by all the rulers and great of the world who live without knowing whether or not they will wake up on the morrow, in view of being surrounded by so many anarchistic dangers, so many bombs and dynamite that the obscure sects make explode, so many excesses that occur and are reported in the newspapers, and so many deaths that are taking place. Oh, this kind of savagery has not penetrated among these savages! That is why they sleep peacefully without fear, in the town, in the countryside, and in the forest, and they are happier than others; those who seek bliss on this earth may well envy these Indians.

/273 cont./

175 727 728 History tells us that the Chiriguano were not the first inhabitants of the region that they now occupy. Other savages had lived here, who handed over the territory by reason or right of the stronger. Subjugated by the number and valor of the invaders, some of them emigrated to perish, and others remained as vassals in their own land and little by little came to an end, leaving the Chiriguano masters of their land.

175 648 [101] In time the Incas tried to conquer this extensive territory, leaving behind innumerable marks of their tenacity, but they had to abandon this noble thought, contenting themselves with calling them with great contempt: Chiriguanos or Chirihuanos, cold excrement. But however warlike or invincible a people or nation shows itself to be or is, its hour to succumb arrives. What was not achieved by the Incas or by the arms of the Spaniard here has been brought about by the patience of the missionary and the tenacity of the whites of Santa Cruz and Tarija. Today the dread Chiriguano is subdued and bows his haughty head. He has been reduced to nothing, and one who does not live in the missions is the vassal of the white man, who has dominated him completely. It is the disposition of Providence, which subdues the proud and decrees that they experience, although much more gently, what they made the invaded ones experience. It seems that in the last war of ●[181] Curuyuquí, the Chiriguano learned his inferiority, but it cannot be denied that this race has been one of the most warlike that has existed here (2).

175 648 797 / 648 797

175 648 727 266 2. The Incas tried to conquer the Chiriguano in order to moderate their customs. The Chiriguano treated the Tapíi with great cruelty; according to what has been told by the natives of Parapiti, they fattened them in order to eat them later.

/298 cont./

797 nothing yet begun, but rather with a most evident deterioration
648 of the building and the gardens which the Franciscans of Tarija left behind so well arranged and so flourishing (1).

1. When the Tarairí Mission was established through the persuasive words of the missionary, it was attacked by neighboring tribes and by the warlike Huacayeños, who were located some 100 kilometers away. The Chiriguano missions were founded where there was no nucleus of whites.

The people of Tarairí were the first to see a Franciscan father in their territory, and they are the last to understand the material advantages that the mission brings to them. The people of Tigüipa, Machareti, Boicovo, Cuevo, and Ivu, and, finally, those of the two Parapiti missions, called San Antonio and San Francisco, came to realize that only the missionary could present their territorial rights before the Supreme Government and assist them in countering the ill will of some whites who, because they were too tyrannical, brought about the Curuyuqui uprising, in which the Indian was completely humiliated when he believed he would exterminate all the whites (2).

2. Through the suggestion of the missionary, the Indians of Itatiqui were assisted in their small territory by the Prefecture of Santa Cruz, before which proceedings for purchase were in process. Today they have been helped by the Supreme Government, which has proclaimed an edict for measuring and setting boundaries, but they have scarcely half a league left to them, despite having possessed from time immemorial three and a half leagues.

726 It has been seen in the course of these pages that the Indian
● 181 is formidable at the beginning of battle, but if victory does not come soon, he turns cowardly and flees.

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/298 cont./
soon, he turns cowardly and flees. The eight-hour battle at Curuyuqui, considering that the weapons were so unequal, can be regarded as a prodigious feat, because once the Chiriguano were so far from their towns, they had to resign themselves to winning or dying before falling prisoner.

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177

Infidels

The adult Indian has no appreciation of religion, whatever it may be. To be sure, first his ignorance and then, more than anything, his pride and laziness contributed to this, because he turns his back on anyone who tries to instruct him. Some of them come to the monthly instruction, but almost all are like those described by the royal Psalmist in that they have eyes but do not see, ears but do not hear, /299/ and a tongue but do not speak, do not sing praises, and do not worship their Creator (1).

1. It seems that the demon of luxury has them blind, deaf, and mute with regard to religion and worship and keeps them away from the Spirit of God.

It is not likely that the Chiriguano will ask for the founding of a mission, because he does not want anyone to disturb his peace and tranquility in his own land. He considers the mission an unbearable yoke for himself and for his children. It is almost useless, it is almost a waste of time, to speak to the Indian about the supernatural, to make him yield and accept the mission. He does not understand or wish to understand why animalis homo non percipit ea quae Dei sunt. Only when he sees himself persecuted with regard to his person, his family, and his property, only in order not to fall completely into slavery, only to free himself from the harassments which he receives from his fellow man, does he then ask for a mission with much insistence, until he obtains the end desired. This is also one of the ways that God uses to secure the redemption and salvation of an endless number of souls (2).

2. There are a number of Chiriguano families

8:Nordenskiöld E-8,¼(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8
Aymara SF5

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[515]

		Cleanness of body	Cleanness in and round the abode	Care of household, habitation, weapons, ornaments, clothes	Skill in art.
Ashluslay	El Gran Chaco near Rio Pilcomayo	2	0	1	3
Atsahuaca	Peru, tropical forests	3	3	3	1
Aymara	Andean Plateau, cold climate	0	0	0	5
Baure	Plains and tropical forests, Mojos, Bolivia	5	5	4	—
Cavina	Plains and tropical forests, near Rio Beni, Bolivia	3	3	3	2
Chacobo	Plains and tropical forests, Mojos, Bolivia	4	5	5	1
Cháma	Tropical forests, Rio Madidi, Bolivia	2	3	3	1
Chané (Itiyuro)		5	4	3	4
" (Parapití)		4	4	3	3
Chimáne	Tropical forests. Bolivia	3	2	2	1
Chiriguano		5	4	3	4
Choroti	El Gran Chaco, near Rio Pilcomayo	2	0	1	2
Guarayú (mission)	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	3	3	—
Guarayú Pauserna	Tropical forests, Brazil	3	3	3	1
Huanyam	"	4	4	4	1
Huari	"	3	4	3	1
Mataco	El Gran Chaco	1	0	1	3
Mojo	Tropical forests and plains, Bolivia	5	5	4	—
Quichua	Andean Plateau	1	1	1	5
Tambopata-Guarayo	Tropical forests, Peru	3	3	3	1
Tapiete	El Gran Chaco	2	1	2	1
Toba	"	2	1	1	1
Yamiaca	Tropical forests, Peru	3	3	3	1
Yuracáre	Tropical forests, Bolivia	3	3	3	3

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There are still many of the old Chiriguano, who wear long hair. Young men and youths with long hair are only

StNordenskiöld E-5,¼ (1908-1909, 1913) 1920
SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Maps of the geographical distribution of various kinds of ornamentation can scarcely be drawn up at present with the exception of a few very characteristic specimens, e. g. the spiral. This is found on earthen vessels from the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro, and from the Chiriguano, but not from the Chané on the Rio Parapiti.

The colours used by the Chiriguano and the Chané on the Rio Itiyuro are black, red, brown and white. The white is caolin, the red, brown and black are obtained by pulverizing schists of these colours. The Chiriguano sometimes mix Urucu with oil. Vessels are probably painted with this mixture only after burning.

Pottery is undoubtedly the chief art practised by the Chiriguano and Chané. We may, indeed, assert that it is the only one that is still of very great importance to these Indians. It is an interesting fact that, though these tribes have been in close contact with missionaries and other Whites for nearly 400 years, and though their country has been flooded with European goods, their pottery has been influenced very little by foreign culture. It is still genuine Indian. This holds good not only of its shape, but to an equally great extent of its ornamentation. It shows how conservative the Indian is towards anything that cannot make easier for him the struggle for life. A cultivated plant can spread in a few years over a large part of a continent, whereas one will not take the trouble to adopt a foreign ornamentation or foreign types of household furniture. This does not imply that the pottery of the Chiriguano and Chané now has the appearance that it had 400 years ago. It has changed, as the Indians themselves told me, but the change has chiefly consisted in ringing the changes on old Indian patterns. How and how much it has changed, can only be proved archæologically. Unfortunately, I do not possess the archæological material. What I found in the country of these Indians probably goes very much further back in time than 400 years, and has very little in common with

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Chapter Fifteen

Drinking Bouts among the Chané and Chiriguano

Ee 178 527 273 [538] [805]

If a Chané or Chiriguano tells a legend, he often begins it thus: "A long time ago there was once a great drinking bout." If he reports something that happened, some illness of a relative or the like, he will say: "It was before or after the festival." Indeed, at these festivals one hears and sees most of what has remained of the old culture of these Indians. This is when the most beautiful clay vessels appear, this is when one sees costumes from olden times, this is when the stone ornaments are taken out of the treasure jars.

Ee 273 415 527 531

Among us a housewife is proud if she can show her guests beautiful tablecloths and fine porcelain. The Chané and Chiriguano women think the same way. At festivals each woman wants the maize beer at her house to be brought out in clay vessels more beautiful than those of her neighbors and to be served in calabashes that are more elegantly decorated than those of anyone else.

Ee 531 [527] [323] [462]

That is why, before each festival, the women are occupied with making clay vessels and the men with the decoration of calabashes. In the Chané and Chiriguano villages one sees magnificent collections of clay vessels. A few women in particular know how to paint these with superior skill and elegance. One almost never sees three jugs that are entirely alike. Each one tries to appear at the festival with something original, to paint something new and pretty. As far as linear /235/ ornamentation is concerned, they know how to vary the old ornamentation, but they do not know how or do not want to free themselves from them and open up new paths. The /Fig. 116 appears here/ Indian woman is conservative in her art and is able /236/ to free herself from the models of her mother's or grandmother's time only if she takes her motifs directly from nature and paints animals. By no means all the women in the villages are artists. There are some whom nature has endowed with the gift of art, and some true bunglers. Who can paint clay vessels as one of the wives of

Ee [181]

846
[844] come into the world. But, in observance of a custom largely prevalent among the Indians of South America, the husband pretends for several days to be lying in childbed, and then keeps an invalid diet!

755 Illnesses are treated by medicine men, who by incantations and other
756 resorts of magic try to expel the evil.

764 After a death, the corpse is placed in a large earthenware jar, which
763 is put into a hole dug in the ground. According to what a Spanish-speaking Chiriguano Indian told me, it was formerly customary to sever, by incision, the spine of a dying person, in order to shorten his death agony. Before life was extinct, the body was thrust into a huge jar, into which also ornaments, weapons, food and drink were put, the mouth of the vessel then being carefully closed up with an earthenware platter. It was important that the lid was put on before the dying person had drawn his last breath. By doing this, it was thought that the soul of the dead [775] would for a time be held in confinement, so that it would not be able to work any harm on the living.[1] The jar was afterwards interred inside the dead person's hut.

●181 With the exception of the Chané — a tribe on the same cultural level as the Chiriguano — the latter seem to me a people considerably superior to the neighbouring tribes, whether inhabiting the mountain regions or the Gran Chaco. Both the mountain- and the Chaco Indians are dirty and of uncleanly habits, whilst the Chiriguano on the contrary [515] are very observant of bodily cleanliness. For example, the Chiriguano women bathe every day, and often several times a day. Among the [934] Chorotí, the girls are in the habit of living in loose sexual relations with a plurality of men, before marrying, whilst the Chiriguano girls, as a [171] rule, preserve their chastity intact until they marry. Also as regards material culture, the Chiriguano and the Chané are on a higher plane than their present-day neighbours. When compared with the ceramics of the [323] peoples of the Chaco, the maize-beer vessels, for instance, that are characteristic of the Chiriguano and the Chané, stand out as veritable show pieces.

181 Of old, the Chiriguano have a reputation for being a very warlike
648 nation. As early as in the time of the Incas, this tribe made a raid into ancient Peruvian territory,[2] and even as late as 1890 the Chiriguano

[1] Cf. Krickeberg (1), p. 130.
[2] Nordenskiöld (16).

7: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

gave regular battle to the whites. This battle, in which about 5,000 Chiriguano Indians took part, was fought at Curuyqui, on the tableland of Boyuovis. The result of the struggle was long undecided, but the Indians were at length compelled to give way before the superior weapons of the whites.

According to a Chiriguano legend, man's soul, some time after corporeal death, comes to the abode of the great spirit Tumpà, where it enjoys to the full everything in which it delighted during its earthly existence. But no joy is permanent. When the soul has spent its allotted time with Tumpà, it is obliged to return to the world and there enter into the body of a fox. When the fox dies, the soul moves into a rat, and, when this animal dies, into a branch of an old tree in the forest. The tree ages, withers away and dies and, as the branch decays, the soul, too, gradually perishes. When the branch has finally become mould, the flame of the soul is extinguished for ever.

Fig. 232. A large wooden cross raised near the Franciscan mission for Chiriguano, at Aguayrenda. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. Photo. E. v. R.

[pp. 226-268 not processed]